

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 130949
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TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BERN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:CSCE

SUBJECT: SECRETARY VANCE'S APPEARANCE BEFORE CSCE
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PAGE 02 STATE 130949

COMMISSION

1. ON JUNE 3, THE SECRETARY, ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT,
FORWARDED THE SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT ON CSCE IMPLEMENTA-
TION TO THE CSCE COMMISSION. ON JUNE 6, THE SECRETARY
TESTIFIED BEFORE THE COMMISSION; THE IMPLEMENTATION REPORT
WAS PUBLICLY RELEASED BY THE COMMISSION IN CONNECTION WITH

HIS TESTIMONY.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S JUNE 6
PREPARED STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION. YOU SHOULD SEEK AN
EARLY APPOINTMENT AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO PRESENT THE
STATEMENT. IN PRESENTING IT, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WE WILL
BE PROVIDING THE SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE.

3. FOR USNATO: YOU SHOULD CIRCULATE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT
AT NEXT POLADS MEETING.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CYRUS R. VANCE
SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

JUNE 6, 1977

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE:

YOU HAVE ALL RECEIVED THE ADMINISTRATION'S REPORT ON THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.

TODAY I WANT TO UNDERLINE, AS DID THE REPORT, THE
CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF THE EFFORT WHICH BEGAN AT
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PAGE 03 STATE 130949

HELSINKI.

YOU ARE FULLY AWARE OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S INTEREST IN
PROMOTING MORE STABLE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF EAST AND WEST. THE HELSINKI FINAL
ACT PROVIDES ONE FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH COOPERATION.

YOU ARE ALSO AWARE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO HONOR AND PROMOTE
THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS, THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL
PEOPLE, NO MATTER WHAT THEIR POLITICAL OR SOCIAL ORIGINS
AND AFFILIATIONS. THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE HAS PROVIDED A MULTILATERAL
MECHANISM THROUGH WHICH TO PURSUE THESE AIMS.

BEFORE DISCUSSING OUR PLANS FOR THE FORTHCOMING MEETING
IN BELGRADE, I WANT TO CONVEY MY THANKS FOR THE CLOSE
WORKING COLLABORATION ACHIEVED BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE
AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT ON THE MANY
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES INVOLVED IN

THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

I WROTE YOU THREE MONTHS AGO, MR. CHAIRMAN, TO SAY THAT "I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO BRING ABOUT A RELATIONSHIP OF FULL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE COMMISSION." I THINK THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS HAVE PLAYED A HELPFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO YOUR PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION IN THE WORK OF THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE.

THE SPIRIT OF COLLABORATION HAS ALSO MARKED OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, AT THE GENEVA AND HELSINKI PHASES OF CSCE, AS WELL AS IN OUR PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE FORTH-COMING REVIEW PROCESS.

LET ME NOW STATE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH WE SEEK AT OUR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 STATE 130949

BELGRADE MEETING:

-- WE SEEK FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE COMMITMENTS CONTAINED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. NONE CAN BE CALLED MORE BINDING, MORE VITAL, THAN OTHERS. ALL THREE OF THE SO-CALLED BASKETS ARE IMPORTANT.

-- WE SEEK INCREMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST ON ALL THE FRONTS SURVEYED AT HELSINKI: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL, SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN.

-- WE SEEK TO MOVE FORWARD ON ALL THESE FRONTS SIMULTANEOUSLY; THE FREER FLOW OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS IS AS IMPORTANT TO LONG-TERM SECURITY AND COOPERATION AS, FOR EXAMPLE, ADVANCE NOTICE OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS; THE HUMANITARIAN PLEDGES AT HELSINKI ARE AS IMPORTANT, AS SAY, THE PROMISES OF GREATER COMMERCIAL COOPERATION.

-- THERE WILL BE CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. BUT WE MUST NOT BE DIVERTED FROM ASSESSMENT OF HOW FULLY THE SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS OF HELSINKI HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY ALL THE SIGNATORIES.

THIS IS AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA. THERE MAY WELL BE DIFFERENCES IN UNDERSTANDING AND PRIORITY; THESE CAN BE DISCUSSED IN GOOD FAITH, IN HOPES OF NARROWING SUCH DIFFERENCES.

BUT SUCH DISCUSSIONS CANNOT SERVE AS A DIVERSION OR A CLOAK FOR INACTION. THE CSCE FINAL ACT WAS APPROVED BY

35 HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AFTER THREE YEARS OF
INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS. UNDERTAKINGS OF SUCH GRAVITY
CANNOT SUBSEQUENTLY BE RELAXED OR OVERLOOKED.

AT BELGRADE WE WILL ASSESS ON THE SPOT HOW BEST TO BE
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PAGE 05 STATE 130949

EFFECTIVE AND PERSUASIVE IN PURSUING OUR OBJECTIVES.
BETWEEN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND QUIET DIPLOMACY, WE WILL
STRIVE FOR MAXIMUM PRACTICAL IMPACT.

WE WILL AVOID GRANDIOSE NEW PROPOSALS THAT HAVE LITTLE
CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTABLE. PROPAGANDA PLOYS, DEBATING
POINTS HAVE NO PLACE IN OUR STRATEGY.

WE WILL STATE OUR GOALS AND OUR ASSESSMENTS CLEARLY,
WITHOUT POLEMICS.

IT WOULD SERVE NO ONE'S INTERESTS IF SUCH SERIOUS AND
FAR-REACHING QUESTIONS WERE DEALT WITH IN ANYTHING OTHER
THAN A SERIOUS AND STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER.

THE REPORT I HAVE TRANSMITTED TO THE COMMISSION ON BEHALF
OF THE PRESIDENT GIVES YOU A DETAILED ASSESSMENT OF WHAT
HAS BEEN DONE AND WHAT HAS NOT BEEN DONE.

LET ME SAY FROM THE START THAT NO NATION'S RECORD IS PER-
FECT, AND WE WILL ACCEPT CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM OF OUR
OWN RECORD, JUST AS WE ASK OTHERS TO DO.

WHEN I OUTLINED THE ADMINISTRATION'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA LAST APRIL, I SAID THAT
"A DECISION WHETHER AND HOW TO ACT IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN
RIGHTS IS A MATTER FOR INFORMED AND CAREFUL JUDGMENT. NO
MECHANISTIC FORMULA PRODUCES AN AUTOMATIC ANSWER."

SO IT WILL BE IN OUR DECISIONS ABOUT WORKING FOR IMPE-
LEMENTATION OF THE COMMITMENTS CONTAINED IN THE HELSINKI
FINAL ACT, THOSE DEALING WITH OUR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
MILITARY RELATIONS, AS WELL AS THOSE AFFECTING HUMAN
RIGHTS.

RESPECT FOR THE UNDERTAKINGS SOLEMNLY ACCEPTED AT CSCE
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PAGE 06 STATE 130949

IS AN EFFORT TO WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT IS FIRMLY COMMITTED,

IN THE FULL KNOWLEDGE THAT THE PURSUIT OF SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE POSES A TEST OF OUR PERSEVERENCE
AS MUCH AS OF OUR IDEALS. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL,
TOGETHER, PERSEVERE.

END TEXT.

VANCE

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